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STUDENT SELF-GOVERNMENT

IN

AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

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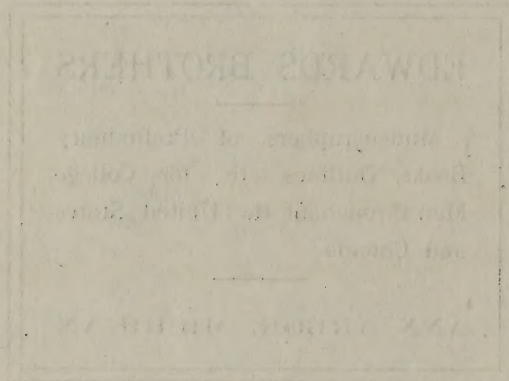






WILLIAM L. BROWN

1887





## ERRATA

Page 5, line 16 from bottom: "from" should read "form".

" 8, lines 16 and 17 from bottom: insert word "percent" after words "Sixty-six" and "seventeen".

" 11, line 3; "of" should read "or".

" 12, " 15; "imposed" should read "reposed".

" 18, " 2 from bottom: "It" should read "If".

" 20, " 3 above table: "candidated" should read "candidates".

" 21, " 3: insert "except" after "effect".

" 21, last line, second paragraph: should read "choice from F on the second count, and from D on the third count."

" 22, line 7: "Voters" should be capitalized.







## STUDENT SELF-GOVERNMENT IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

### Forword.

Self-government, as applied to the American University student community, is a topic that has been given but scant attention by contributors to the public's fund of critical reading material. Such effort as has been devoted to it has dwelt for most part upon the Honor System phase of it, but has pretty completely ignored its application to the other phases of student life. Consequently, I was forced to look to other sources for information. Preliminary to my study I sent the following questionnaire to thirty of the leading universities of the land.

### Questionnaire.

Student self-government in American Universities.

1. Do you have a student governing council of any kind in your University?
  - a. Will you kindly furnish me with a copy of its body of rules or constitution?
  - b. If this is unavailable, can you give me the principal information as to structure, constituency, powers and their origin, members and method of their election, etc., that such document contains?
  - c. What support does it receive from the students in its exercise of disciplinary power over student conduct, such as the prevention and punishment of rioting, hazing, etc?
2. To what extent is the honor system employed in your University?
  - a. What is the machinery of its operation. Is it connected with the Student Council?
  - b. Is it considered a success by faculty and students?
3. What opportunities or channels are provided for the wholesome expression of student political instincts?
  - a. What are the principal student elections and elective offices?
  - b. In general, what portion of those eligible to vote in them do so?
  - c. What is the attitude of the campus toward student politics? Is there much talk about "petty politics"?
  - d. If repugnant is it carried to the extent of stifling free discussion as to candidates principles or qualifications for important offices?
  - e. Are offices generally considered as honors or as opportunities for service?
  - f. Are cards, dodgers etc., used or permitted in student "campaigning"?







From the replies received thereto, - twenty-seven in all, - and from three years of personal observation at my own University, I have gleaned my principal information. I need hardly whisper a word of caution in respect to the questionnaire. At best the information which questionnaires elicit, especially in such topics, must be taken with reservation. To say, for instance, in response to question 2, (b), that the Honor System is considered successful, without further comment, may mean a variety of things. Likewise, hardly anything of value was obtained in response to questions (c), (d), and (e) under #3. Most of my replies came from busy Deans and Secretaries, too much occupied with their own problems of administration to take serious note of the undercurrents of student political life. Such information can come in reality only from students themselves, and even then is likely to be coated with campus traditions unless the informant has taken particular care to analyze the situation with vigor and individuality. Yet by no means do I minimize the value of the information I received in reply to my questionnaire. Many of the replies were exceedingly painstaking and valuable, and a few displayed an intimacy with student affairs on the part of the administrative officials that is all too rare in our large universities. The eight constitutions of student governing organizations which I received from as many institutions were alone well worth the whole inquiry.







## "Prologue".

It may at first appear that I have chosen a topic political rather than sociological. With the forms or instruments of government sociology does not as a rule seriously concern itself. While it may invoke the agency of government to certain of its ends, and while it may consider such agency quite indispensable, it cares little thru what channels of political form that trust is executed. It may advocate the segregation of degenerates, the educational reformation of the juvenile delinquent, the farm and open air treatment for insane and epileptics, and it may recognize the aid of the state as necessary to the proper consummation of any one of or all of these reforms, but ordinarily it little cares whether that agency be executed by a republic, a democracy, an autocracy, or a monarchy, whether by commission, city manager, or council, whether its administrative officers were elected on long or short ballot, or whether they hold office by close corporation appointment, or by hereditary life tenure. The essential is that the aid be given effectively and efficiently; and as to what these governmental forms may be that lend themselves most readily to the efficient execution of governmental functions, - that they consider to be more properly within the realm of political science. Hence, I say, it may seem that in attempting to speak upon student self-government, I am transgressing the proper bounds of the field with which my treatment is supposed to deal.

But there is another phase to government besides that of merely giving form and force to social regulations over a given area and population. Government is a tool in the hands of man, and every tool, in the process of its use, has two spheres of influence: its direct influence on the material upon which it is employed, and its reactionary influence upon the one who uses it. Government as a tool affects not only the governed, but those who govern as well, and sometimes it happens that that government which is least effective in the former use exerts a most profound influence in the latter use, or vice versa. Such was the case with the American Colonies just preceding and following the Revolution. The British colonial government, as governments went in those days, maybe considered to have been a fairly effective government, so effective indeed that it drove the colonists into rebellion. Yet there was apparently nothing in its reactionary influence upon its British operators of sufficient cogency to bring about a satisfactory unification and stave off the temporary disruption of the empire. On the other hand, a less effective union, masquerading under the name of government, than was that of the colonies under the Articles of Confederation can scarcely be imagined, yet its operators learned from its vicissitudes and failures the lessons that later materialized in the most successful instrument of government that has ever been devised. In a democracy, or any form of self-government, this reactionary influence upon the governing becomes the most important. In a monarchy or oligarchy the governing class is so small, and it is







as a rule so completely exempt from the operation of the power it wields, that there can be no reaction on the basis of any fundamentally sound knowledge or sympathy. But in a self-governing state, the governing and the governed are practically identical, and the effect of the forms and conventions employed upon themselves as the governed is a spectacle of such intimate experience, and close association to themselves as the governing that the resultant influence upon their rationality, their morale, their whole temperament, in fact, is profound indeed. There is no mistaking the influence of their acts upon the governed thru the imperfections and inadequacies of observation and communication. They are themselves the governed, and experience them first hand.

It is because of this influence of governmental forms upon those wielding them as well as ruled by them that I feel justified in choosing such a topic as student self-government for sociological treatment. When the student leaves the pale of parental domination, and the environment to which he has long been accustomed, and enters the changing, many-sided atmosphere of college life, the effects upon his character and personality are almost invariably tremendous. He has lost one environment and has gained another. As a part of that environment, he has lost one system of external discipline, and has become subject to another. Is the new discipline adequate to replace the old? Is it not merely adequate, but is it such as to supplement the old in the proper development of his character and social life, in some such manner as the college curriculum is designed to supplement the "prep" school curriculum in the development and enlargement of his intellectual life? These are big questions, sociological questions, in the general problem of higher education, and if we find that student self-government has an important bearing upon them, either in view of the fact that it is of student origin, or in view of the various forms thru which it is obtained, a consideration of its nature and attributes is surely appropriate to the sociological field.

We shall find it convenient to pursue this inquiry in two main divisions:-

I. A consideration, mainly descriptive, of the typical systems found today in American Universities, classified according to the degree of control they exercise.

II. An attempt to outline a system of student self-government which shall profit by what we have theretofore learned.

### I. Descriptive.

Student self-government in American Universities is found manifesting itself in four different spheres of control:

- (1. Purely advisory.
2. Control over student activities.
3. Control and operation of the honor system.
4. Jurisdiction over student conduct.

#### 1. Advisory.

I presume there is scarcely a college or university in the







United States of any importance that does not have some sort of organized student agency with at least advisory powers. Of the replies to my questionnaire, the one from the government Indian School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, alone revealed a lack of such an organization. Sometimes they consist of representatives elected from the various classes, or from the upper classes alone, sometimes of the leading campus office holders and captains of athletic teams, sometimes merely of an exclusive senior society, holding sway and exerting its influence purely thru its prestige, such as the "Innocents" at the University of Nebraska. This is the most primitive form of student self-government. Its purposes are usually expressed in vague but lofty phraseology, and its functions usually consist of such duties as rendering its opinion in questions referred to it by the faculty, acting as a medium of unofficial communication between faculty and students, and moulding undergraduate opinion thru making public its views in mooted questions that come up among the students.

Primitive, however, as this type may be, it rises in some instances to a high degree of effectiveness within the sphere that it attempts to handle. Where it is embedded in traditions that give it sufficient dignity and prestige as an institution, and where its personnel is chosen in such a way and under such influences as to insure the choice of men whose judgment is really revered on the campus, its unenforced word is obeyed as law. This sometimes occurs at the smaller, more aristocratic universities. Thus, we learn that at Princeton thru the efforts of the senior council, the practice of "horsing" the Freshmen has been entirely done away with. Similarly, "Paleopitus" at Dartmouth, created fifteen years ago without any stated powers, has by the growth of tradition come to exercise full control over exclusively undergraduate affairs, and to have some powers of recommendation in faculty administrative decisions. That in such institutions the advisory system is capable of such success is due mainly to two conditions:

(1) Such schools are, as a student from one of them once told me, "lousy" with traditions, - not mere candidates for the honor; - and among these is always found that of deference and respect to upper classmen, both in outward form and in general mental attitude. It is thus possible to obtain a governing personnel exclusively from the upper classes, with their greater experience and knowledge of campus interests, and still retain for it the confidence and support of the entire student body.

(2) In the smaller institution it is much easier to get a fairly complete poll of the eligible voters in the election of the student officials who operate the system, and hence there is greater assurance that the one most representative of real student sentiment will be chosen.

Such organizations, however, are a total failure at larger institutions. There the pond is so large that the ripples from a boulder of opinion dropped in a select spot fade and die away long before they reach the outer edges. Neither are upperclassmen respected, per se, nor are such representative votes usual or ordinarily possible.





## 2. Control of Activities.

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In the larger universities, these institutions, while nominally retaining the advisory powers already mentioned, ordinarily find their main usefulness in the control of student activities or some portion of them. It is here that the manifestations of student self-government are most profuse, and yet least significant. There is scarcely any distinctive student group but what has its peculiar interests expressed in some sort of an organization, and besides these, the entire student body is usually organized in two, three, or four different directions, to express its diverse aggregate functional interests. All of these are controlled principally by student officers, most of whom are elected by their fellow-students. Indeed, they seem strangely to have inherited two ideals of earlier American democracy: (1) that any office of public trust or service, to be handled in the interests of the people, must be filled by popular election; (2) that rotation in office is necessary to preserve government from the evils of tyranny. Student offices are always refilled once a year, often as frequently as once a semester, and for one incumbent to be reelected is almost unthinkable. "He has done his work," is the common view, "it is now time for him to step out and give someone else a chance." Wherever this view prevails we may almost invariably find a strong tendency to regard student offices as honors with a certain amount of perfunctory work to do in connection with them, rather than as opportunities for distinctive and original constructive service.

I hope I may be pardoned for digressing a moment on this point. It's a very important one from the standpoint of the reflex influences of student government. Viewing student offices merely as mainly as honors is responsible for some of the worse defects of campus institutionalism.

1. Elections to office are made mere tests of personal popularity. Hence there is little interest taken in them except by the personal friends of the candidates. Others feel that nothing depends upon the election of one or the other, so why bother?

2. The campus comes to estimate achievement in terms of the number of activities in which one can secure official participation, and correspondingly to ignore effective specialization in a particular field. Honor societies are likely to make their choice to membership on these grounds.

3. This is in turn reflected back again in the attitude of those seeking campus distinction. A Freshman was recently confiding to me his plans to take mostly "pipe" courses next year. "You see," he said, "I want plenty of time to use outside. I want to get into just as many activities as I can next year, because I figure that if a fellow gets a good start in activities in his sophomore year, he has easy sailing the rest of the course." Take his calculations for sound or false, they but illustrate the impression received by underclassmen, as they set foot on the first rungs of ambition's ladder. Such an atmosphere is deleterious in the highest degree. It results not only in the "sinecure" attitude toward student offices, but in habits of carelessness and superficiality toward curriculum work as well. The work in connection with student offices is taken as so much perfunctory duty, to be dispatched as quickly as possible to make room for "other things". A prominent





campus office-holder, here at Michigan, connected with several university publications, the Student Council, and some four or five honor societies, remarked to me one day: "I have a plan by which I make a list each morning of the things I have to do in connection with these organizations, get them done as quickly as possible and then have the rest of the day left for 'other things'". With such an attitude the absence of constructive plans and policies, pursued with vigor and specialized skill in student affairs is not to be wondered at. The habit of touching the high spots in official duties in order to make room for more is very easily carried over into the scholastic field. Again I can cite personal experience: coincident with my year of most voluminous student activities, I must confess that I have received my lowest scholastic rankings so far in my college course.

But to return to my main topic, after this rather lengthy digression, - by student control of activities, in this connection I refer not alone to student management of these various organizations, but more especially to their supervision and control thru some central student agency rather than by some faculty committee on student affairs. This, as I have said, is the main function at present carried out by student government in the larger universities. Their advisory powers are purely nominal, especially as applied to the students, and except in rare instances they have not developed (to any extent), the other powers yet to be considered. The Universities of Wisconsin and Illinois may be taken as typical of this phase of the movement, and in smaller schools, Michigan Agricultural College, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In the College of the City of New York, the student council has charge of all extra curricula activities except athletics. This exception is one quite frequently made, in fact, and probably is due to the fact that athletics were too firmly established under other management when student self-government was introduced to be swallowed up by it. At the University of Washington, the student Board of Control has control of the student book store, and of the "Daily", exercises general oversight over debating and athletic interests, and appoints the graduate manager of athletics. The University of Chicago has two student governing bodies, the "Honor Commission", with powers falling under the heads yet to be considered, and the "Student Council", dealing more exclusively with student activities. At Michigan the principal function of the Student Council is control of student activities, with, of course, the nominal power of recommendation. Even its control of activities is however more nominal than real, as it has no control over Athletics, Debating or Oratorical activities, or over any of the student publications. It supervises the class elections, the general campus election, the Fresh-Soph class contests in the fall and spring, such as the Tug-of-war, push-ball contest, class-rush, etc.

But, as I have already mentioned in passing, these manifestations of student self-government, profuse as they are, signify little as regards the achievement of that which is the essence of self-government. So long as a student council confines its decrees and regulations to the field of student activities it encounters little





opposition. So highly are campus activities regarded that any person or group who does anything to improve them, or indeed, to introduce into them any novel or original strain, even tho the improvement be hard to sense, is regarded as having made a contribution to campus life. Such regulations little interfere with anyone's convenience. There is frequent criticism of a council's acts in this role, to be sure, but it does not seriously impede its success. A student council, as a supervisor of student activities, does not reach out and touch the individual student in his daily life, and tell him what he may and may not do. At best it touches only a few editors, managers, etc., and then affects them only on their institutional life as officers, not as campus citizens. The student body at large it touches only on special occasions such as class contests, games, etc., and then again in an institutional rather than a personal capacity.

The real test of student self-government comes in its third and fourth spheres of control, namely, the operation of the "Honor System", and control over student conduct.

### 3. The Honor System.

The Honor System is a device used in dealing with the problem of cheating, chiefly in reference to examinations, tho in some cases it is made to cover any kind of a definite moral obligation or pledge. Three varieties of it are found in use in American universities.

(1) A system where the obligation of honor is supposed to be tacitly understood.

(2) One where it is imposed by a signed pledge to neither give nor receive assistance.

(3) One imposing a double pledge or obligation: (a) to maintain one's personal integrity, (b) to report all violations of the pledge coming to one's notice.

According to J. A. Lester, "Nation", 94:435-6, -May 2, 1912, out of three hundred and fifty colleges and universities answering a questionnaire addressed to them, twenty-nine per cent were using some sort of an honor system. Of these forty-four per cent were east of the Mississippi River and south of the Mason and Dixon Line, while eleven per cent were in New England. Sixty-six were exclusively for men, seventeen exclusively for women, and seventeen per cent were coeducational. Furthermore, of the universities employing an Honor System, about one third were using the tacit, unpledged variety, another one third the system pledging personal integrity while the remaining third imposed in addition the obligation to report violations discovered.

With the first two varieties we have little to do in this treatment. The first is widely used by individual instructors in conducting their examinations. The instructor simply states to his class that he is putting them on their honor, and leaves the room, telling where he may be found if there are any questions. Its success is purely psychological where it attains success. I have myself never seen it used successfully except with upper-classmen in small classes in advanced courses. The second differs from it only in emphasis. The only advantage of the written pledge is to impress more firmly upon the student his obligation. True,





there is a class of men to whom the letter is the only law, and who will conform to a signed pledge, where they will ignore any kind of a tacit understanding, on the ground that the instructor had no right to assume the understanding as accepted by them. But this class is small and nets cannot be laid fine enough to catch them. So inadequate are the best of formal conventions to express the whole of the principle behind them that the equivocator will always find a loophole. Besides, the equivocator usually makes his own distinctions between letter and spirit, and, finally, due to the defects of his memory, he will find his equivocation inadequate to his ends, and will resort to violation. But in neither of these forms is there the essence of self-government; in neither of them does the group lay down the standards for the conduct of its members, and assume responsibility for their enforcement. For that we must turn to the third form.

The essential features of the third form are:

(1) A pledge of personal integrity, something after the form, "I hereby certify upon honor that I have neither given nor received assistance on this examination," which is placed signed upon all examinations and quizzes to which the system applies.

(2) An obligation, which may be expressed in a definite pledge, or may be imposed just as forcefully by tradition, to report any violations of the above pledge which may be detected.

(3) The Honor Committee, chosen by the students from their own number, for the purpose of receiving all complaints, conducting hearings and trials, and deciding upon the penalty to be imposed.

Some object that this is not an Honor System, that when enforcement by duress is introduced, it is no longer a matter of honor, but a matter of compulsion, that honor proceeds from within and cannot be driven from without. It is a trivial objection. Call it what you will. Its influences for good or evil will be unchanged by its appellation. The man of sterling honor will be indifferent to the dangers that would confront him as a violator, as he is safe in any case; and for the man who is caught cheating to complain of his honor being doubted is like the conspiring assassin accusing his captor of eaves-dropping.

The Honor System was first instituted at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, in 1842, and here it has received its greatest development. With nearly seventy-five years of continuous growth, it has reached a stage of perfection today unequalled so far as I am able to find, by any university in the United States. Its jurisdiction extends to all matters of honor, to all matters involving the breaking of a pledge or promise, or the giving of a lie. Whether in the class room, or the athletic field, or in a friendly game of cards, any act of cheating or treachery or dishonesty is treated the same way. It is not the fraud that is punished, not the social consequences of the act that the system tries to eradicate by its discipline but the stain upon the very character of the individual that any transgression of personal honor betokens. Consequently, there are no degrees of guilt. If an individual has violated his honor, he is no longer worthy of trust, and no longer a fit inhabitant of a student community where





the essence of social relations is mutual frankness and trust. The penalty is always the same, permanent dismissal from the university.

Furthermore, to quote Prof. William M. Thornton, professor of that university, "The young Virginian, who is expelled from the University, finds upon his brow the ineffaceable mark of his shame. At home he is excluded from every club, shut out from every position of trust, debarred from every office of honour. Abroad he finds everywhere the omnipresent Virginian, who carries with him through all the world the memories and traditions of his early home. I have been interrogated privately by the officers of New York Clubs as to the University records of candidates for admission to their privileges. In all my experience I have never known or heard of a man who lived down the memories of an expulsion under the Honour System." <sup>1</sup>

The University of Texas also has a highly successful system, which in fact it inherited at the time of its founding from the University of Virginia, from which many of its professors came. It differs from the Virginia system, however, in that it applies only to all work done to secure college credit, and not to betrayals of trust in the affairs of every day life or in athletic activities. It also differs as to the atmosphere in which it is set. The system at Virginia seems to be supported by a semi-religious atmosphere, founded upon the ideals of Thomas Jefferson. The addresses I read upon the system by Virginia professors and students rang true with deep emotion. In them are some of the loftiest and most elevating passages upon the value of personal honor that I have read. It is rare for a student to stand trial upon a charge of violation. Immediately he finds he has been discovered, he leaves the University. Mr. W. S. A. Pott, a graduate student at Virginia said, in the pamphlet already referred to, "so far as I know, there have been but two public trials at Virginia, both, as I understand, solemn and heart rending occasions," much I imagine, as a trial for heresy must have been in the olden days. The Texas system, on the other hand, seems much more utilitarian. Tho it is but half the age of the Virginia system, being founded with the opening of the University in 1883, during that time twenty-four cases have come to trial, of which eighteen were convicted, and six acquitted. Of the convictions, six were expelled, three suspended, four put on probation, one deprived of credit, and four reprimanded. Thus, whereas the Virginia system by its single penalty of expulsion aims to keep the campus scoured of any spirits incompatible with its atmosphere of honor, the Texas system aims more at the regulation of the individuals conduct. The Virginia position, whatever else we may say of it, is admittedly the more logical and consistent. However, we shall have opportunity to see more of Texas utilitarianism, and of the different aims back of it before we finish.

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<sup>1</sup> I would recommend that any one interested in the more detailed study of Virginia's Honor System procure from that University its pamphlet entitled "Addresses on the Honor System", from which this quotation is taken.





The Princeton system is effective and successful within the field that it covers. It applies only to examinations, and thus is narrower than either the Texas or the Virginia system. But it is amply supported by tradition, and an authorized description of the system issued by the University says: "We have every reason to believe that it has secured absolute honesty in examinations. The undergraduates are very proud of it as a system characteristic of the University they chiefly love, and opinion amongst them would be sharply intolerant of any breach or relaxation whatever." This is also a pledged system with the obligation to report violations amply understood. "The faculty of the University makes no investigation whatever, but accepts as of course the judgment and finding of the committee, and the person convicted is dismissed from the University." Here it corresponds in spirit to the Virginia system, as also in the following feature. "In case any one applying for admission to the University is found to have cheated in the entrance examination, he must not only be refused admission, but must understand that it will never be possible for him to enter."

The Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania also has an enforced system, applying only to examinations and written quizzes. Its penalties are withdrawal of credit in the course or in an equivalent one on the first offense, and expulsion in the second offense. The theory seems to be that the student should be given a chance to reform, and if he neglects it is then time to "cast him into outer darkness". The official giving me the information commented as follows: "A great improvement over the proctoring system. There are breaches of honor in connection with it but these are less troublesome than would be breaches of discipline under the proctoring system." He is apparently considering more from the standpoint of lightening his burdens of administration than that of its influence for good or ill on the general student morale.

The University of Chicago and the University of Washington may be taken as typical of the best development in the north and north-west in their honor systems. Here the student council has been empowered by the faculty, but without any definite student sanction, to hear cases of cheating in the examinations, and recommend action by the faculty, which usually approves. Such systems are, of course, quite artificial, and while from the administrative standpoint they may help in the easy disposition of perplexing and troublesome cases, serving as a shield to the faculty, it is doubtful if they foster a wholesome atmosphere in student relations. The student has no desire to be tried by his fellows, except it be according to a system which he has helped to create, and by an authority which he has helped to delegate. Otherwise, it is my belief from what I have observed that he would rather be tried by an agency with natural authority, like the faculty. Such systems may be beneficial, however, for their educative value, as a step in the evolution of a higher system.

We have now examined student government in its three spheres of advisory control, control of student activities, and control of





the Honor System. Each of these have represented higher developments than the preceding and have often incorporated the preceding spheres along with their higher spheres. But the supreme test of student government lies yet before us, namely, control of student conduct. Advisory control is simple because whoever will follow it may. Control of activities is not difficult because it touches chiefly the ambitions and then in an institutional capacity. And control of the Honor System, while much more delicate, is yet based on a standard of quite universal acceptance, if not of observance, the standard of honor and trustworthiness. There is no one so unsocial as not to desire the trust of his fellows; no one so bold as to openly deny the value of honor. Those, in fact, who find imagined profit in departure from its code do so by virtue of the trust reposed in them, and which they could not violate had it not been so imposed.

But to attempt the control of student conduct is quite another thing. Virginia with the most nearly perfect honor system in America, avoids any attempt at student control of student conduct except when concerning a question of honor. To quote Dr. Thornton again: "To cheat and lie under the conditions of student life in Virginia with them betokens hopeless moral debasement. It is from this point of view that we must judge what seems to the careless observer the student's capricious application of the Honour System. Men have been expelled under it for publishing in the University Magazine a stolen article and offering it in competition for a prize. They have been expelled for cheating at cards with their fellow-students, or for evading payment of just debts by falsely claiming they had been robbed. They have been expelled for sexual crimes against younger students and for violent and insulting behavior to ladies or other defenseless persons. Of many other offenses the students refuse to take cognizance. Gambling they condone as long as the game is fairly played. Drinking they seem to consider one accomplishment of a gentleman, and drunkenness is simply the unfortunate error of an immature judgment. Sexual passion is common to man, and illicit indulgence in it has perils and penalties which are its proper punishment. We cannot change their code, if we would, and for my part I should doubt the wisdom of a change. The student does not analyze his convictions. He feels them, and by a true and just instinct sets apart from other human frailties those sins which destroy confidence in the sinner's inward soundness of nature. If the foundations of character are destroyed then the toppling superstructure of reputation must be likewise."

Similarly, neither Princeton nor Pennsylvania include in their student government any supervision of student conduct. Opinion is divided on the right or wrong of these various phases of conduct. By no means everyone is ready to admit the evils of drink, and many of those who do still defend their right to take these evils upon themselves if they so desire. Gambling is an easy way of making money, -- and losing it, -- and, so they say, the loss or gain does not reach beyond those engaged in the game. Again it is a matter of personal liberty. The same analysis or pseudo-analysis is applied to sexual transgression. The essential fact



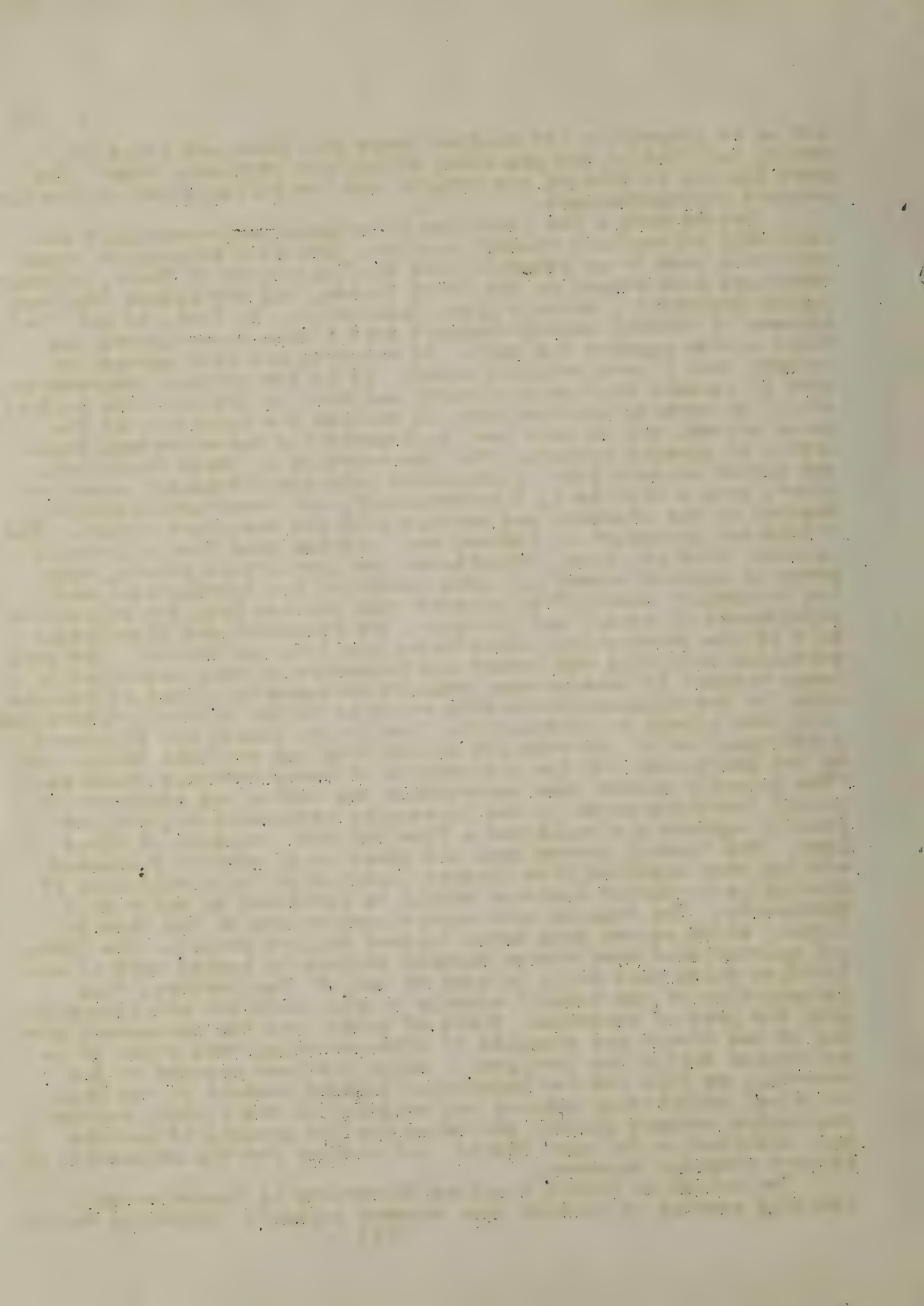


for us at present is not whether these practices are right or wrong, but what is the unanimity of opinion regarding them? The more opinion is divided the greater are the difficulties confronting student self-government.

Yet we have a few instances of student self-government effectively controlling student conduct. The most notable of these that have come to my attention are the University of Texas, already mentioned with regard to the Honor System, and the Leland Stanford Junior University, at Palo Alto, California. In fact, of all the systems of student self-government that I have investigated the Texas system appears the best. It embraces all four spheres of control that I have outlined above. It is the official representative of student opinion in faculty matters; it has complete control of all university publications; it handles the operation of the honor system; and it is a real instrument for the effectual regulation of student conduct. For the exercise of these functions, the entire student body is organized into the "Students' Association", with a President, Vice-President, and Secretary-Treasurer, elected by the students and constituting the executive branch. The "Students' Assembly" of fifteen men, elected some from individual classes, some at large, constitutes the legislative branch, with power to make or repeal all laws governing the Association; and the "Students' Council" of nineteen men elected from the respective departments of study, and including the President and Vice-President of the Association, constitutes the judicial branch. The constitution outlining the powers and procedure of this organization bears witness to some unusual student statesmanship, and is remarkable for the exhaustiveness with which it covers the many situations that seem likely to confront it. Nor is its beauty all in paper. A few examples of its work are quoted from the pamphlet gotten out by the University for the information of newly arriving students. "The Assembly passed laws restricting the number and character of social functions given by the University organizations, and the Council imposed and collected a fine for the violation of these laws. The Council passed upon the question of whether a student who had been expelled from another institution for a violation of discipline involving dishonor should be permitted to enter this University. The Council took supervisory charge of the Varsity Circus, which netted some seven hundred dollars profit. The Council appropriated over eleven hundred dollars to assist certain activities which were badly in need of help." Furthermore, "The jurisdiction of the Council extends to all character of misconduct upon the part of students. Theft of books, and the persistent giving of bad checks are examples of offenses which were shown to be punishable during the past year. Among the laws enacted by the Assembly, we find one for regulating student conduct in the main building, prohibiting smoking and spitting on the floors, another regulating student dances, providing for the issuing of permits upon application for such events, and another for the regulation of student campaign expenses.

The system at Leland Stanford University is the other outstanding example of control over student conduct. Curiously enough





here it is entirely dissociated from the Honor System. The Honor System, is, I am informed, used locally in a few departments, but what type or under what machinery of operation, I do not know, tho certainly not under the general system of student government. Perhaps we can see in these various tendencies noticeable in various universities something of a reflection of the sections in which they are located. The great tendency of Southern Universities toward the Honor System reflects the spirit of chivalry and honor that characterizes the Southern aristocracy, from which the students of these Universities, formerly at least, were chiefly drawn. The single notable exception, in the case of Texas, with its development of the fullest governmental powers in addition to the Honor System reflects in turn the "northernization" of Texas, which visitors claim they find so noticeable there in contrast to the other Southern states. It has been said that Texas is the most Southern geographically, but the most Northern psychologically, of all the Southern states. That Leland Stanford, then, should care mainly for the regulation of student conduct, and little for a system dealing with so intangible a quantity as student honor is not remarkable when we remember the enthusiasm of the West for practical achievement, with little regard to what may be the abstract principle behind it. To them a student carousal is a greater practical nuisance than one who does illicit work in examination or breaks a pledge which may not be made to any useful end anyway. Virginia punishes the lie and not the act. Leland Stanford cares not whether there is a lie involved in it or not; it is the act which is the nuisance and which has the troublesome consequences.

The Stanford system is unique in having the representation in the legislative body based on living groups; fraternities, house-clubs, dormitories, etc. The general authorization of powers of this body, the Student Conference, is as follows:

"The Conference as a body shall be charged with the enforcement of all University rules governing student conduct; with the enforcement of a high standard of gentlemanly conduct by students both on the campus and off the campus, and in their respective living groups; with the elimination of cheating, dishonesty, or laxness in business relations, and other conduct which is harmful to the University."

The clauses fixing the duties of the Representatives is also worth quoting:

"Duties of Representatives. - 1. Conduct of members of the groups. - Each representative shall be personally accountable for the conduct of students in his particular group, and shall answer to the Council for all misconduct by those students. If such misconduct could have been prevented by a reasonable exercise of his authority he shall be subject to discipline by the Council. Each representative to the Conference shall be required to explain to the Council if the members of his group are specially delinquent in scholarship or in payment of their financial obligations, and he shall be responsible for the execution of any instructions given him by the Council for the improvement of his group."





'2. Conduct of members of the student body.- (a) Each member of the Conference shall do all in his power to prevent violation by any student in the University of the rules of student conduct laid down by the University or by student government. In case of violation he shall warn or report the offender and do all in his power to prevent its repetition or continuation. If such warning or request is disregarded, he shall report the case to the Council for discipline. For breach of this duty to prevent or report violations, the member of the Conference shall be liable to discipline by the Council.

"(b) Each member of the Conference shall do all in his power to prevent cheating in the University. It shall be his duty in case any cheating comes to his notice, to warn or report the offenders; if the offense is repeated, it shall be the duty of the member to report the case to the Council for discipline. For failure to perform this duty the member of the Conference shall be liable to discipline by the Council:" as are also the provisions with regard to duties of students:

"Section 1. It shall be the duty of each student to refrain from cheating, to warn or report any other students who are observed in the act of cheating, and in case of continuance or repetition, he must report the case to the Council. For failure to perform this duty he shall be liable to discipline.

Section 2. It shall be the duty of each student to meet all financial obligations promptly.

Section 3. It shall be the duty of each student to observe the University regulations regarding intoxication or the bringing of intoxicating liquors upon the campus.

Section 4. It shall be the duty of each student to do all that is reasonably within his power to prevent violations of the rules concerning intoxicating liquors by other students, and where he fails to use such means to prevent such violations he will be liable to discipline.

Section 5. It shall be the duty of each student to observe the personal right of other students, the customs of the University, and to refrain from any acts which amount to hazing.

Section 6. It shall be the duty of each student to observe all other University regulations, to maintain a high standard of gentlemanly conduct and to refrain from any acts which may injure the reputation of the University, and to prevent as far as possible the commission of such acts by others."

This constitution, it is true, is quite new, having just been adopted the twenty-fourth of last March, and little can be said so far as to its success. But I am informed by President Wilbur that customarily "all breaches of good conduct are reported by students, faculty, or members of the community to the Student Conference," and if this is the case, there should be little reason why it should fail, as in any system of government the most serious obstacle to overcome is getting the students to assume responsibility for reporting violations.

I had intended here to give a detailed account of the system as it exists at Michigan. My treatment has, however, proceeded





to an unfortunate length, and I will content myself with referring the reader for an analysis of the situation at Michigan to my article in the "Inlander" for June, 1916. Nothing that I could say within the space here at my disposal could add anything material to that.

## II. Constructive.

We are now ready to undertake something of a constructive nature with reference to our subject in the light of what our survey of the typical system now in use has disclosed to us. First let us ask once more what is the central aim of student self-government? Its central aim as I see it, is to furnish a more adequate system of student discipline that does the regime of faculty domination. As I mentioned earlier, the student enters the university usually direct from the portals of the high school and the home. Intellectually, he has left an order where his thinking and choice were largely exercised for him, and has entered one where if he is to succeed he must henceforth exercise these functions himself. The college curriculum supplements the "prep" school curriculum in such a way as to foster intellectual vigor and independence. Morally, from the stand point of conduct, he has left an order where his sleeping and waking hours were under the more or less careful surveillance of the parental eye seasoned with its greater experience and more personal interest; and he has entered one where in the average good-sized university not only is there an absence of the old discipline, but where there even seems to be a positive atmosphere of license. In the average university the only discipline is that of the faculty, the police and the opinion of fellow-students. The faculty sees the student on an average of fifteen hours a week, and in a large university their moral discipline is negligible. The animosity between town and gown is as old as the oldest university, and any attempted discipline on the part of the police but raises its victim to the position of a hero or martyr in the eyes of his fellows. As for the discipline of student opinion, it inclines, as I have already said, toward license rather than restraint. However, he may swagger, there is never a fledgling collegian but realizes his "greenness", and feels it to the marrow; never a one but craves for experience and longs to sit in the seat of the sophisticated; never a one but courts the good will of his fellows. On the other hand there is never an exponent of license but boasts this experience, claims a knowledge of the world and its ways, and smiles with a knowing contempt, an "I-was-that-way-once", air at the "Squeamishness" of the fledgling. The influence of this class, small in numbers, large in noise, is stronger than ordinarily supposed. It was but the other night that a senior friend in whom I had had the greatest moral confidence, called on me half-submerged, and explained that he had never done it before, but that he didn't want to graduate without getting his college education. Because of the activity of this small, tho noisy, class of students the





disciplinary influence of unorganized student opinion is, I contend, rather toward license than the contrary.

So we need a system of student self-government for both subjective and objective reasons: to organize student opinion, and give its quiet and order loving elements a chance for more effective expression, and so to reach out and subdue those turbulent elements that are beyond the reach of the faculty, because of the latter's limited perspective; and finally to foster in the students a love and respect for standards of moral discipline that is born only of self-created ownership. Just as the university curriculum should foster intellectual independence, so the university discipline should foster moral responsibility.

These, I believe, are the central aims of student self-government. With them in mind, let us start to build our Utopia.

1. All movements for student self-government must proceed fundamentally from the students themselves. Before the operation of any system is attempted first be certain that the students want self-government. They usually will, if the matter is properly put up to them, but so long as they are lethargic on the whole, no system can be a success. Hence, let the constitution creating the system and outlining its powers, jurisdiction, and the manner of their administration be brought before the student body, given amply and careful discussion, until a mature public opinion can be formed upon them; and then let it be submitted to a vote of the whole student body and adopted only in case it polls a sufficient vote to give evidence of an interested public opinion having been formed. It is by no means claimed that a student governing body can enforce any rule of student conduct in a way impossible to the faculty. It can only enforce those that express fundamentally sound currents of student sentiment and feeling. If the majority of the students really believe in hazing, it can never discipline individuals for participation in it. But if hazing is the work of a small but noisy clique, ordinarily unopposed by the quieter element, the expression of this quiet undercurrent in a constitutional power adopted at the ballot box may become a power to be reckoned with. Likewise, amendments to the fundamental law should be made only by vote of the student body.

2. These powers, to be meaningful, must be administered by those in whom the students have confidence; and just as there is no pride like the pride of self-created ownership, so there is no confidence like that of delegated agency. The personnel of the student governing body must be representative of campus feeling and that after some logical scheme. The best logical scheme of representation, I think, is that on the basis of living groups, as in vogue at Leland Stanford University. A representative in a legislative body should be chosen, if possible, that his constituency will have opportunity for discussion and the formation of a mature opinion on questions of policy that may come up. The living groups furnish such a constituency in a way that class organizations and departments of study do not. Their members associate in daily intercourse, and there is the maximum opportunity for direct communication between the council and the student body





thru this channel.

In practice, however, this plan is objectionable in that it is certain to give undue weight to the fraternity and house-club group. It would be impossible to give the independent students representation in anything like the proportions in which it is given to the fraternities. To do so would make the legislative assembly unwieldy in size. For this reason, the plan of department or class representation with possibly a few elected at large is probably in the long run the best. This is the system in use at Texas.

Be sure to admit representatives from the freshmen and sophomore class, as well as from the upper. Their judgment may not be valuable at first, but if we are to have men at the head of this institution who realize its meaning and are capable of guiding it to the utilization of its greatest opportunities, we must enlist their interest and begin to train them in actual service early in their college course. Remember, the function of this branch which we are here constructing is the formulation of policies, not the execution of details; it is deliberative, not executive, and hence adequate representation of campus interests is of greater importance than promptness and dispatch in action.

3. Secure action by the creation of a small executive core, headed by the president, elected either by the council, or by the campus at large. I prefer election at large, as it places him above the sectional interests of class representation, and gives him prestige to exert a guiding influence upon the whole institution. It makes him an executive, and possibly a statesman, rather than a mere presiding officer and parliamentarian.

Pursuant to this idea, it is well to have the whole system given expression in some sort of corporate organization of the entire student body for the distinct and unique purpose of self-government. This is the practice at Texas where every student is a member of the "Students' Association". The psychological influence of governmental forms is by no means to be despised, and this is one that impresses the student more indelibly with a feeling of the institution. Do you regard the speaker of the National House of Representatives with the same reverence that you do the President, or even the governor of your own state? Why not? You are a citizen of the state of which Ferris is governor, and of the nation of which Wilson is President, but you are no part of the House of which Clark is Speaker, and even if you could vote for him or his successor, you would feel comparative indifference to his acts for that very reason. The President of the student council, likewise, has more prestige if he is, nominally as well as virtually, president of an organization of which every student feels himself a member, than if he is merely the presiding officer of a select representative group.

4. A few words as to voting. Every student should be allowed to vote, and should feel his moral obligation to his Alma Mater so to do. Here Leland Stanford makes a mistake, in limiting the franchise to those having at least fifty hours credit. If the dictates of student self-government are to be effective they must





be the real and full expressions of campus opinion, administered by those who are the real choice of the students and have their confidence.

Texas has a good provision requiring a poll of at least fifty percent of the eligible voters in any election, or in any vote upon a constitutional amendment. This is an incentive to classes to get out a good vote, as if their poll does not reach the minimum they are deprived of their representation. If this rule were suddenly enforced at Michigan, I fear the student council, and every officer of every class and every general campus organization would be subjected to an automatic recall. I have never known a fifty per cent vote to be polled in such an election here.

Another interesting and valuable expedient, which we will adopt in our Utopia, is preferential voting, as found at Princeton and Texas. According to this, where there are more than two candidates for one office, the voter is required to rank them 1, 2, 3, etc. in order to have his ballot accepted. Then in case the first choices do not show a majority for any candidate, the second, third, etc. choice respectively of the voters for the lowest candidates are counted successively until a majority is secured. I have seen many instances where, a number of names being up for nomination, two were nominated because they happened to have a slightly larger immediate following than any of the others when, if the voters for the others had a subsequent choices, neither of them might have been nominated. The diagram will illustrate:

Single choice ballot.

A	12
B	10
C	9
D	8
E	7
F	6

Multiple choice ballot.

	1st	2nd	Total	3rd	Total	4th	Total	5th	Total
A	12		12		12	3	15	*	
B	10	1	11		11	*			
C	9	3	12	4	16	4	20	5	25
D	8	2	10	3	13	4	17	10	27
E	7			*					
F	6	*							

A little explanation will make this table clear. There are six candidates, A, B, C, D, E, and F, from which are to be chosen two nominees to go on the ticket at the election. On a single choice ballot A and B, having received the two highest votes. On a multiple choice ballot, however, where the candidates are ranked 1, 2, 3, etc., by the voters, according to preference, the result is shown to be different. The first count of the ballots, based on the first choices, results just as on the single choice vote. (The number at the head of the column indicates the number of the count). F's name, receiving the fewest votes, is then stricken out of the





competition, and of the second choices indicated on his ballots, one goes to B, 3 to C, and 2 to D, making the totals for each as indicated in the third column. E is now low man, and his ballots are accordingly redistributed, the second choices falling as indicated in the 4th count, and the totals changing as indicated in the fifth column. By this time B, who was second to start with, has now dropped to fourth, and his ballots being redistributed according to their next choices, as shown in Column 6, give new totals shown in Column 7. There being two men to be nominated, C and D are now the winners, B having dropped out altogether and A having dropped from first place to third.

However, one of the beauties of this system is that it does not require a separate process to sift the candidates down to two and so insure the victor being the choice of a majority of those voting. The same process can be carried a step further to the selection of the final officer from the whole original list. A's vote, being now lowest, may be redistributed, making the final result as shown in the 9th column, and making D, originally fourth, the final choice on which the majority actually agree.

A problem in this system that may puzzle one, is what to do in case some of the votes in redistributing fall by second choice to any of those candidates who have already been stricken from the list and had their own vote redistributed. The following table will illustrate such a situation:

	(1)	(2)	Tot.	(3)	Tot.	(4)	Tot.	(5)	Tot.	(6)	Tot.	(7)	Tot.
A	12	1	13		13		13		13		13	8	21
B	10	2	12	1	13		13		13		13	*	
C	9	2	11	3	14		14	3	17	3	20	1	21
D	8		8	*				4	12	2	14	3	17
E	7	1	8	3	11	1	12	*				1	13
F	6	*		1	7	*		5	12	*			

	(8)	Tot.	(9)	Tot.	(10)	Tot.	(11)	Tot.
A		21		21		21		21
B								
C		21	3	29	1	30	1	31
D		18	*					
E	1		1	14		14	*	
F	*		1	12	*			

\* Vote of this candidate here redistributed.

In this ballot the first choices fall just as in the preceding one. F is first redistributed, after which D and E tie for low place. Lots are cast, and as a result D is struck out, but in the redistribution of his votes one of them falls by second choice to F. It is not fair that this ballot should have its second choice ignored, and it may be that by the time the process is completed there will be



enough such ballots to give F a strong showing. So simply preserve F's last total, and add this vote onto it. As it happens, this has no effect to raise F's total by one, as F is still low man; and so this last ballot is credited to its next choice in order, which is E. E is now low, and in his redistribution 4 votes fall to D and 5 to F, which when added to their last totals bring them back into the race with 12 each, tying them for low place, and plainly giving one of them a chance to remain in the running. Lot decides that F go out, and his ballots give enough to D to put him ahead of both A and B, who then cast lots to drop out; and so on. Each candidate really stays in the race with his total as a potentiallity to the end.

One might think that this would finally result in each one receiving the same number of votes; but this is avoided because of the fact that when once a candidate's vote has been redistributed, it is only the additional votes that he receives from time to time that may hereafter be redistributed, and not his total. Thus, in the fourth count F has a total of 7, yet only one ballot is redistributed; on the sixth, a total of 12, yet only 5 are redistributed. It is not possible for a ballot to come back to a candidate after it has once left him in redistribution, as he can be given but one choice on the ballot, and in each redistribution the next successive choice is employed. Thus, when B's ballots are redistributed in the seventh count, some will go according to second, and some according to third choice, having already come to B by second choice from F in the second count, from D on the third count.

The system seems complicated in the explanation, but a little experimentation with counterfeit ballots will make it perfectly plain to anyone. And remember, - such intricacy as is connected with it need be mastered only by the election board. All the voter has to do is to mark the candidates 1, 2, 3, etc., in order of his preference. All this is relevant to the question of getting a truly representative personnel for our governing machine.

5. Student campaigning is a topic to which I could devote pages. It is the storm center of indictments against student self-government. Tirades against "peanut" politics are the stock-in-trade of campus editors and satirists. Yet its horrors are in my opinion either the deliberate concoction of interested groups, or the liberal imagining of pseudo-campus ethicists. My article in the February and March, 1916, issues of the "Michigan Alumnus", describes the way in which the non-electioneering rule works to the benefit of the fraternity groups. I can see no harm in student campaigning, if opportunity is given to pursue it on lines of principle and questions of merit. It might surprise, even shock, many to learn that among the statutes of the best system of student government in America (Texas) is one limiting the campaign expenditures in the interests of any student candidate to the sum of fifty dollars, and requiring him to file an account of his campaign expenditures on the day of election. Cards, dodgers, and other campaign advertising material is taken as a matter of course at the University of Pennsylvania, the College of the City of New York, University of Nebraska, and New York University. The only objection I see to this, not being a janitor or caretaker of lawns, is the





financial element it introduces into student elections. Of course the system should be kept so that its opportunities are open to all, and that none should be denied a deserved office, nor any office denied a capable occupant simply because of his financial disability. Wisconsin has solved this problem most successfully. There the student conference publishes each year at the time of class and other elections a "voters' Guide", containing the names of the various candidates with the pictures of these for the leading offices, and such remarks or testimonials or records of achievement as can be inserted with brevity. This is issued to all interested in the elections. I must remark that there is little included in this pamphlet or at least in the copy that I examined that would be very enlightening as to the real merits or principles of any candidate, but that is probably because there is little at stake in a class election to call forth such a development. Nevertheless, the pamphlet of this sort offers great possibilities as a solution of the campaigning problem.

It is my opinion that much of the unsavory character of campaigning and of its insidiousness is due to its unwarranted disfavor in the public eye. Many of the so called campaign deals, I know from personal observation, are hushed up, not because there is in them anything wrong or unethical but because it is feared that due to the general attitude their disclosure would be badly distorted as leakings of scandal always are, and would prejudice chances. If campaigning were openly and generally recognized as legitimate, there would be no reason for this concealment. Remember, man is a political animal with the political instinct inherent within him. It must find expression and if legitimate channels are denied it, it will overflow thru illegitimate ones. Above all, the greatest possible opportunity and encouragement must be given to discussion of the system and all it involves, so that every quarter of the campus may be kept in touch with it, and may profit by its successes and its errors.

This is the most perplexing part of the whole problem. How are we going to make the system organic, so that it will keep growing from year to year on the basis of what it has already achieved. Back of the whole must be a strength of tradition, a unity of sentiment. Every student must feel that the welfare of the whole campus and indeed of his Alma Mater is at stake in the successful working of this machine, and that that successful working depends upon his and every other student's sympathy with its spirit and compliance with its requirements. This is comparatively easy where the students mostly come from a homogeneous stock of aristocratic gentry, as they do at the University of Virginia, and for most part at Princeton. But how to achieve it in a large cosmopolitan university like Michigan with a fresh influx of nearly two thousand "foreigners" every year from the uttermost ends of the earth, and from all classes, - that is indeed a perplexing question. Nowhere is the immigration problem more pressing. Nowhere is the imminence of death more obvious. No sooner does one generation of students begin to get thoroly acquainted with the system and deeply imbued with its spirit, than they pass on to the world beyond,





leaving its problems ever to be faced by a fresh bunch of raw recruits. In larger society a statesman can engage in a constructive program covering years of his life. On the campus, he has to work three years before anyone will even listen to him, and then if he is so fortunate as to gain a position of prestige, he has no sooner gotten his program well under way than he must consign it into possibly less enthusiastic hands to give such attention as pleases them. It is this note which really makes Cap Night <sup>1</sup> at Michigan so solemn in tone, so meaningful, so tragic almost, especially to those who are outlining from the platform the tasks awaiting the attack of the yearlings. They are tasks upon the accomplishment of which their exponents have built their dreams. They know they will never be consummated as they intended.

In the larger political life propagandists can cite the experience of the past. Many remember it personally, and many others know its essentials from the study of history. To the student population any reference more than three years back falls almost uniformly on deaf ears. The adage that the child will learn by burning its fingers does not apply to the student political organization, as the child is so constantly changing.

✓ I know of but one solution to this situation, but I think that solution could be made an adequate one, and that is to require every student who comes to the university to take a one hour course in campus life, or campus affairs, or whatever else you would wish to name it. Its contents would be a study of the principal campus institutions, their history, structure and operation, and an analysis of the fundamental spirit and philosophy and tradition behind them. The aim of the course would be to foster an intelligent interest in the affairs of campus life, so that the individual student would lend his best thought and energy to their advancement. A tradition is the growth and cumulation of years; the nearest thing to creating one is getting together, thru discussion and the ballot, and agreeing what we as a body will or will not tolerate; and so far as I can see, the best way, the only way, to perpetuate it and make it cumulative, is thru some system of universal compulsory education in campus affairs, such as I have mentioned. Make it an absolute requirement, just as Rhetoric Courses #1 and 2 are absolute requirements, proceeding on the principle that the social value of a higher education is as great as its intellectual value, and that the maintenance of sound, wholesome, social relations on the campus is impossible on a foundation of ignorance concerning those fundamental campus institutions touching the life of every student, as the Honor Systems or supervision of student conduct would do. The next best thing to this is to place in the hands of every student entering the university a book containing the essential information involved. This, however, would be but a poor substitute, as the student would seldom read it, and even if he did it would lack the personal touch that definite instruction would give.

<sup>1</sup> The occasion in late May when the freshmen burn their caps in a huge bonfire, and become sophomores, and when each of the other classes step up accordingly.



This instruction, by the way, would require some attention. It might be placed in the hands of some professor who had a particularly broad and sympathetic comprehension of student affairs, and for his assistance a few fellowships might be created and awarded to graduate students who during their undergraduate life had rendered signal services in the sound advancement of beneficial student activities. This would have the added advantage of stimulating more sincere and constructive work in connection with student activities, and a study of their history and deeper implications. Who can estimate the benefits that might accrue from such an arrangement. Certainly the expense of the fellowships or of the added services of the professor in charge would be amply repaid in the atmosphere of greater seriousness and reflection it would certainly foster, an atmosphere that would have a direct influence upon the quality of curricular work.

### Conclusion.

Who can estimate the possibilities of student self-government rightly constructed and wisely administered; possibilities for the student body, for the faculty, for the university, for society at large? In the student body it should foster a mutuality of interest, a closer bond of student fellowship, a heightened seriousness in its sense of its own responsibility. For the faculty, besides lightening the problems of administration, it should foster that frankness and openness between instructor and student, that sympathy and understanding which is essential to the purest and freest intellectual communication between them. For the university, it should foster a deeper student reverence and love for it as their Alma Mater. For what is the love of Alma Mater but a sacred memory of those friendships, joys and felicities that are so inseparably associated with it? And any measure that increases the unity of these correspondingly deepens emotional regard for Alma Mater. And finally, for society at large it would train a select and intelligent class in the habits and channels of good citizenship. How can one at the most formative period of his life be thrown in direct contact with a system such as that at Texas, be confronted with the necessity of living four years as an integral part of it, sharing its problems and responsibilities and helping to solve them, without being at last thrown again upon the world a better man and a better citizen for it? Is there any brighter prospect that could be held for the future of American democracy?

Ann Arbor, Mich.

June 30, 1916.

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